241 beginning of the cultivation of the fields as soon as the rainy
782 season has started. This is done after he and his sorcerers (abafumu) have practiced a number of ceremonies and have
[776] offered sacrifices to the principal god, Imana, the fertility god. The order of the head chief is passed on by the subchief to the lower batwale who again pass it on to the Bahutu. The Bahutu also offer small gifts to the god. When they begin to till the field, a sorcerer (umufumu) dances in front of them on the first day, shouting and gesticulating, to banish the evil spirits and to bless the seed.

241 According to Father Gassldinger the consecration of the
782 fields takes a somewhat different form in central Urundi
796 (Mujaga). At the beginning of the rainy season, after the high grass has been cut down and dug into the topsoil with hoes, work is started with a ceremony that is supposed to bring the blessing of Kiranga. [58] The men, painted yellow and red, line up with their hoes on the field which is to be tilled. Kiranga with two escorts (ivisjego) sits on the side of the field. A girl who is painted and richly adorned stands in front of the men in the center of the field. She now begins to jump, dance, and sing while cutting the high grass with her sickle. Still singing, she asks Kiranga for a successful sowing and curses the sorcerers and witches who might want to harm the field. The men promise her ample gifts of beer for the summer. The men walk slowly behind her turning the soil over with their hoes which they strike rhythmically into the ground. Depending on the type of seed, Kiranga is invoked by a particular name: Njamurimi when sorghum is sown, Njabaschi for peanuts, Rumambo for corn, etc. (No. 45, p. 316).

782 The heir presumptive to the throne of the king is believed
241 to hold in his clenched fist at birth a grain of seed of each of the
[644] crops of Urundi. If the corn or sorghum in a field has been dashed to the ground by hail or a cloudburst, the Muhutu who cultivated the plot runs around the field with a cattle bell, and by its noisy clanging he reminds the god to whom he has made sacrifices of his duty to protect the field from evil spirits. If this clanging of the bell is done properly, the crops lying on the ground will raise themselves to an upright position.

794 575 The main reasons for joining the Kubandwa are usually the following: the invitation of a magician; the wish to be cured of a sickness or to be rescued from a difficult situation caused by evil spirits; the intention of obtaining a privileged position of various material advantages of joining the cult society; the fulfillment of a promise or vow made to one's ancestors; the carrying on of a family tradition, etc. Thus, we have motives in all of which the positive principle of utility strongly predominates.

The consequence of joining the Kubwanda [sic] is that the umubandwa ceases to be a member of common humanity; he now belongs to an exalted adoptive family which protects and promotes its members. We might regard it as a kind of Free Masons' Lodge. Through solemn vows the newly admitted members pledge themselves not to betray or violate the secrets of the Kubwanda. If a member should nevertheless do so, the [789] ababandwa curse him, wishing all sufferings on him, and Riangombe carries out the malediction (No. 44, p. 294).

● 796 794 575 [126] The ceremonies of the Kubandwa, the admission of new members to the society, are accompanied by a great number of formalities; they are identical, however, for Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa. To the best of my knowledge they correspond in their main outlines to the procedure that is customary in Ruanda which is as follows. First the aspirant (nsigo) informs a sorcerer (umufumu) of his desire to be admitted to the society. Then the abafumu require weeks and months to obtain the spirits' [787] assent by performing all kinds of sorcery: they listen to their "inner voices," they observe floating pieces of butter and wood, they read the entrails of chickens, sheep, water-wagtails, etc. (No. 44, p. 530). During this entire period the candidate is expected to bring the umufumu a series of presents: sheep, goats, beans, iron hoes, even cattle (required of the Batussi). At the same time bananas, meat, pombe beer, and other delicacies must be offered as sacrifices to the spirits in the little sacrificial huts. At last the spirits agree to the admission of the candidate. Then the abafumu choose from their circle a sponsor whose duty it is to introduce the candidate to the ababandwa. The real

794 admission to the order by the society's members is then enacted
575 in the kraal of the candidate. It is accompanied by innumerable
796 formulas, ministrations, invocations of Riangombe, Painting of face and body, eating, drinking, dressing up, handling the sacred spear, alternate chants, and the rattling of bells and gourds. Each of these acts has a symbolic meaning and reference (No. 44, pp. 539-558).

At the end of the ceremony the candidate's sponsor puts
[292] on the insignia of Riangombe (leopard skin, headdress with a cow's tail, etc.) and thereby turns into Riangombe himself who now in his own person performs the ceremony of the admission of the neophyte by a kind of examination and instruction. However, the novice is initiated to no profound secrets or "esoteric wisdom," as in the mysteries of antiquity, but only to ritual formalities, and though the novice is required to make a solemn vow that he will keep the secrets of the Kubandwa, this refers merely to these superficial ceremonies, for, like the other ababandwa, he knows of nothing else. In conclusion, the newly admitted member once more offers presents to Riangombe and to the ababandwa assisting him. Then Riangombe confers
[551] a new name on the novice by which he will be exclusively known in the future; in Ruanda, for example, the name may be "the little one who smashes the stone," or "the one who swallows cream," or "the one who steals from his mother," or "the one who rids the dogs of fleas" (No. 44, p. 870). After this the neophyte is a regular member of the society. Then the ababandwa, decorated with the insignia of their spirits, march through the countryside collecting food which is finally squandered in an eating and drinking bout (No. 44, p. 110). The newly admitted umubandwa then has to give public demonstration of his newly acquired power. A Munjaruanda who finds himself in some difficult situation asks him to help him appeal to Riangombe or some other god or protective spirit (for example, Kiranga, Masira, Binego, Kagoro, Mugassa). This is done by ceremoniously imploring the god to grant the request and by slaughtering in honor of the god a sterile cow, an old steer, or a ram, which is consumed by the ababandwa of the entire region (No. 44, p. 123 ff.). [127] On this occasion, as at all cattle sacrifices,

794 the horns of the slaughtered cattle are hung up near the huts or
575 piled up or half buried so that only the tips protrude. Any visitor
796 to Musinga's reception hut in Nyanza notices such half-buried horns near the entrance.

This act of assistance by means of prayer, which must be successful except when it is opposed by "superior powers," marks the conclusion of the long ceremony of the Kubandwa.

Through Father Gassldinger we know a little about the gatherings of the ababandwa in Urundi and of their rituals, chants, and dances (No. 45, pp. 309-314). In Urundi these ceremonies are in most cases for the god Kiranga who plays a far more important role in Urundi than does Riangombe who is predominately worshipped in Ruanda. In Urundi Kiranga is often identified with Riangombe (see p. 121). Thus, in the rites described by Father Gassldinger not Riangombe but Kiranga is the master and protector of the secret society of the ababandwa.

If a prosperous Murundi family has had sickness and other kinds of misfortune during the course of a year, it will celebrate a Kubandwa festival after the grain harvest as soon as the storage bins are full and the brewing of beer has begun. The festival is for Kiranga, and all the ababandwa of the region are invited to attend. First of all, an umubandwa friend at whose kraal the most recent ceremony took place is asked to officiate as hierophant, i.e., as the representative of Kiranga. This
[785] umubandwa prepares himself for the office by isolation and fasting. As soon as he begins to growl and howl in his hut at night, it is a sign that he is possessed by Kiranga, and the celebration can start. One after another the invited ababandwa, men and women, assemble in the courtyard of the host. Kiranga's spirit hut is decorated with young fig branches, freshly cut grass is neatly spread around the hut, and in front of it is placed a block of wood or a low footstool. One of the huge, three-footed beer jugs which are used at the feast of Kiranga is placed next to the footstool. A large, plaited receptacle containing herbs and leaves with which to work magic is placed in the center of the
[302] courtyard. In the meantime the ababandwa paint broad and
[301] narrow stripes of white-yellow clay across their faces; the women also decorate themselves by tying leaves and bands to their hair and arms.

796 and arms. Everyone is armed with long-stemmed rattle gourds
794 or iron bells. There is complete silence.
575 Then, with slow steps, Kiranga himself emerges from
[534] the hut. His face is painted with clay so as to be hardly recognizable; his eyes are closed. With both fists he clasps a long lance, the sacred spear. He is accompanied by four assistants (ivisjego); one of them is the master of the house, the host of celebration. Kiranga solemnly takes his seat on the footstool while the ivisjego squat at his side. At this moment a procession of ababandwa begins to walk toward him. From the plaited receptacle mentioned above they take tufts of grass, then kneel down and place them in front of Kiranga while calling to him: "Kiranga umwami wi Barundi!" (Kiranga, you are the king of the Barundi). After returning to their places, they begin shaking their rattle gourds in a certain rhythm, strictly observing the beat and at the same time stamping the ground in the same rhythm. A leader of the choir then begins to sing the old Kubandwa hymn:

[539] [128]

Hai yeye wohima ye!
Abadandwa n'ivisjego!
Hiye yee, he he, eee hiye,
Ruheye ye, Riangombe ye, etc.

Its refrain "Hai yeye wohima ye" is chanted by everybody (which is quite similar to what has been reported by van der Burgt, No. 19, p. 292).

796 The hymns, the invocations of Kiranga, the maledictions,
794 and all other utterances which are part of the ceremony are not
575 spoken here in the colloquial Kirundi but "in a mangled gibberish
198 which only Kiranga and his subjects can understand." The word insoga (beer) becomes inganda; amata (milk) is changed to anufuro (foam); amukobwa (girl) to amaschenge; kubita (to beat) to kubomagura (to throw mortar at); etc. This special Kirundi terminology is also used by the religious secret societies of the neighboring peoples and appears to consist mainly of elements of Old Kirundi which otherwise has been almost forgotten. (Cf. p. 148).

796 As soon as the men have finished their frenetic singing and
794 dancing, individual participants in the celebration step before
575

796
794 Kiranga, take a bow, clap their hands (the standard greeting
575 for the king, also in Ruanda and Kisiba), and then present all
[576] kinds of requests to him. One desires that his cattle be cured; another wants a husband; a third wants a wife; etc. Kiranga promises that their wishes will be granted if they give him generous presents of beer and cattle.

Now the dance begins under the direction of a female
796 leader. "The arms are stretched out to the sides, and the
794 flattened palms are gently and gracefully moved at the wrist
575 joints. Smiling, the rows of dancing girls move toward each
535 other with their heads swaying. Their gesticulations become gradually more lively. The entire body is inclined forward, sideways, and backward in incredible contortions which are accompanied by staggering steps. The dance excites the participants and the onlookers. In a breathy voice the girl leading the dance improvises a chant of praise to Kiranga; the others take up the refrain just as softly. The men's small drums and rattles accompany the dance softly and covertly. In the meantime the musicians lustily partake freely of the beer. Finally, when the girls are tired, they return to their places amidst wild applause. Kiranga, however, also is tired, and he names a successor, a woman, who is greeted with lively applause" (No. 45, 1913).

The women are usually particularly skillful in this role.
796
794 The one who has been chosen as successor places on her head,
575 which has been painted red, a kind of crown made of shells.
786 Her face twitches in nervous excitement. It is a gruesome sight. After she has twirled in a circle for a few times with her arms outstretched, she seats herself on Kiranga's footstool and suddenly screams in a hoarse voice filled with hatred: "All those who have not come shall die of hunger." This is greeted with shouts of approbation by the hundreds of participants who are intoxicated with beer and excitement. Again the woman screams: "All White men and their friends shall die by the spear." The whole circle repeats these maledictions jubilantly. Further: "All enemies are to perish with swollen

796 bellies" (i.e., like sick cattle). And so it continues with in-
794 numerable wild curses. When the storm has subsided, individ-
575 ual supplicants once more stumble forward in front of the
786 enthroned woman, pay profuse respects to the "king," and re-
quest his help in opposing witches and sorcerers who have harmed them. The woman promises this, and with the voice of a fury she calls for a pledge of faith to Kiranga. [129] The ivisjego jump up, and under their leadership and accompanied by the noise of all the instruments and with a thousand curses and screams, a dance is performed, such that in the end everyone is bathed in sweat.

A wild drinking bout by the men and women follows, while they repeatedly scream to Kiranga sitting on the footstool: "Remain on the ruler's throne forever, King of Urundi; Kiranga is king." After that the frantic dancing in rows and the noise continue until the woman representing Kiranga becomes thirsty and surrenders her place to a male successor who is then the host. Naturally, he also is enthroned with tremendous jubilation. In this fashion the drinking and dancing, the invocations of Kiranga, and the curses against enemies continue through the entire night until early morning. Then suddenly the whole group breaks up, and in single file, rattling their bells, they run to the nearest stream where they all wash themselves. With this, the celebration comes to an end, and everyone goes home. From this moment on, none of the participants of the celebration may show any sign of recognizing his companions. The whole Kubandwa must be kept secret. However, the host who last "played" Kiranga belongs from now on among those most privileged and divinely blessed.

796 Since much beer is drunk at these cult festivals and at all
794 other celebrations and it is only available after harvest time,
575 from July to the end of October, all festivals occur exclusively
273 in these months. Every night, especially when there is moonlight, one can hear the noise of drinkers and dancers from the banana groves. Usually they are mere drinking bouts which resound into the night and have no further importance, but often they are cult gatherings of the abandandwa in which only members of the fraternity may participate.

796 members of the fraternity may participate. The fraternity
794 of the ababandwa admits for religious purposes men, women,
575 Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa whenever they seem suitable (that is, if they are able to pay the high cost of admission and have influence). This fraternity is also of great social importance in
794 these lands where deep cleavages divide the society as a re-
575 sult of the three-fold racial division into Batussi, Bahutu, and
569 Batwa, the contrasts between the conquering caste and the subjugated group, and the rigid clan organization. In contrast to these distinctions, the order of the ababandwa, who are united in the Riangombe and Kiranga cult, acts as a social equalizer by protecting and promoting its members regardless of the race, caste, or clan they belong to.

There is another group of persons who maintain close
756 relations with the world of the spirits and are endowed with
791 supernatural powers by them: the sorcerers, medicine men, magicians, who might all be described by the collective term abafumu (sing., umufumu). This is a Bantu word which is also used in Unjamwesi. It describes someone who uses magical remedies and amulets (No. 19, p. 461). The abafumu are medical practitioners who attempt to ward off misfortune and disease by using supernatural powers and remedies since, after all, every ailment or accident is due to the supernatural influence of evil spirits (see "Medicine," p. 140).

Without doubt the umufumu is the most powerful person
756 in his community. Very often he is more powerful than the king's official, the mutwale. "He is, at the same time, physician and apothecary, conjurer, counselor and priest, a beloved friend of the family, and a universal helper in need. It is his privilege to discover the designs which Imana and Kiranga [130] and his companions have concerning the destiny of poor, ordinary mortals. The eyes of the umufumu are sharper and better penetrate the veil of the supernatural, to him the invisible god reveals his wishes, he is his favorite and mediator .... The modern European regards all phenomena as natural and uses natural techniques to control them; the Murundi, on the other hand, regards everything except water and grass as a manifestation of the supernatural which must be treated

as the result of a denunciation before the German Resident, the entire kin group of the chief or the umufumu would be bound by law of the vendetta, and they would take terrible vengeance on the family of the "traitor" (No. 45, 1913, pp. 83-84).

Neither the umufumu nor the umubandwa is invited to officiate at the real cult acts of the Barundi people, at "divine services." These are a matter for the priest, the kiranga. Although among the Barundi one's entire life is simply a series of performances to fulfill religious requirements which affect all matters of existence, they nevertheless assign particularly great importance to two rituals. For this reason the kiranga has to officiate at them. One is the ceremony of the "sacred spear," the other is the act of erecting the small huts for ancestors and spirits, ivigabiro, akararo, ivitabo (No. 19, pp. 498-499).

The ceremony of the sacred spear is enacted at all the important events in the life of the Murundi, whenever protection against evil spirits is especially desirable. The father of the family is host at the ceremony and pays the officiating kiranga; relatives, friends, and neighbors act as assistants. The ritual takes place, for example, at the birth of a child, particularly at the birth of twins, if there is a serious sickness in the family, at weddings, joyous celebrations, funerals, etc. (No. 19, p. 516). Thus, it is a ceremony which may be sponsored by any Murundi who is in a position to afford the expense. This is not the cult gathering of the ababandwa, described on p. 124 above, which also takes place under the direction of the kiranga and is of a similar nature, but it is only performed by the secret society of the ababandwa.

Even the ordinary spear of the Murundi is considered sacred in a certain sense since it is the symbol of paternal power and the authority of the ancestors. Consequently the "sacred spear" guarded by the priest is the object of great devotion. In the point of this spear lives the spirit Kiranga, [135] or Indagarra, or Riangombe, depending on whether the spear has been dedicated to one or the other of the spirits. In most cases it is Kiranga. The shape of the spear is like that of any other, but one half of its blade is unpolished and black. If someone

796 expresses the wish that the "ceremony of the sacred spear" be celebrated for his benefit, he invites his friends and the priest (kiranga) of the district along with the latter's spear. The kiranga arrives with two or three male or female assistants (ivisjego), and all the participants in the celebration take their seats in the hut. The priest sits in the middle holding the sacred spear in his hand and wearing a cap made of leopard skin with its tail falling down his back. Each of the assistants holds in his hand a bifurcated branch to whose ends are tied little calabashes, some of which are filled with grains or pebbles. These rattles are shaken in a certain rhythm, and to their accompaniment the entire gathering sings -- in a minor key and andante -- a traditional hymn in the old Kirundi language (see p. 147) which is for the most part unintelligible. The hymn calls on the congregation to praise and glorify the spirits, Kiranga, Rugondo, Riangombe, and others (No. 19, pp. 517 and 292). While they are singing, each person gathers a little straw from the ground and places it as a sacrifice in front of the sacred spear, clapping his hands as a sign of homage, and then directs to the spirit Kiranga, residing in the spear point, a number of requests expressing the wishes of the host. After that the whole party leaves the house with a chant and proceeds to the little spirit hut (ikitabo) close by. Its floor is then covered with fresh straw or grass. After they have returned to the house, the whole gathering is sprinkled with water by the priest (symbol of purification?). At the end all join in drinking the contents of a large jar of "sacrificial beer." This concludes the ceremony, the priest receives his fee (beads, grain, barkcloth, etc.), and everyone goes home. In Ruanda and Uha the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated in a similar fashion (No. 19, p. 518).

796 778 346 There is another ritual at which the priest is regularly asked to officiate: the ceremony of erecting and consecrating the little spirit and sacrifice huts (Plate 18a). There are two different types of these huts: some are dedicated to the gods, Imana, Kiranga, and Riangombe, and are open to the public (ikitabo, akararo); the others are dedicated to the family ancestors and are private (ikigabiro).

778 Usige, these little huts are constructed so as to have two en-
346 trances, the pot inside has two spouts, the ritual tobacco pipe
[782] has two bowls; all this is probably because they are supposed to serve both the spirit of the ancestor and his wife (see Fig. 11). Van der Burgt interprets this custom as being related to the supposed bisexuality of the manes (No. 19, p. 564), yet I could not find any proof of this.

[769] The Murundi is rarely satisfied with only one ikigabiro; usually there are three or four of them dedicated to the spirits of the three or four deceased family members who were closest to him. At one time I actually counted no less than eight such sacrificial huts in one kraal.

778 The huts are consecrated by the kiranga performing the
782 ceremony of the sacred spear. While the ceremony is in
796 progress, the family members eat several kinds of food next
769 to the little "votive chapel." This is done in honor of the ancestor to whom the hut is dedicated. They deposit a small amount of each dish and a little beer in the ikigabiro. Later this offering will be repeated each time that the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated for some reason or other by the family concerned. Not only millet gruel and pombe beer are offered; among prosperous families the sacrifice also includes the meat of chickens, goats, rams, and even beef.

769 According to the belief of the Barundi, the ancestral
782 spirit either chooses to make the hut erected in his honor his
778 permanent residence or at least he uses it as his temporary
775 quarters in which case he will then appear as a ghost in the neighborhood. The Murundi believe that the food offerings are eaten by the spirit when in reality they have been eaten by dogs, rats, or birds. If the food remains untouched, the Murundi finds comfort in the thought that the incorporeal spirit has enjoyed only the incorporeal parts of the food, beer, and tobacco.

778 According to van der Burgt, there exists, in addition to
769 the two cult sites mentioned above, a third type which, however,
825 appears to be extremely rare. These are closed huts, two to
775 three meters high, found in the neighborhood of the sacred groves close to the old royal kraals. The one seen by van der

231 one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield
[234] little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly
[556] an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the
[462] cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

241 Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief
[273] products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are
[462] known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

000 This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs

643 The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's
● 796 personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural
[778] products, as well as cattle and game. It included the exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

643 796 between the various elements of the people; it was supposed to be a large contribution to the land's fertility and the country's welfare, and in all this the part played by the king was prominent.

643 631 Only in fact was the king's power limited. He transferred the leadership of parts of his sultanates to some chiefs, almost in every case relatives (brothers, uncles, cousins), members of the royal family (*baganwa*). In their turn these would establish subchiefs chosen among their relatives, or the aristocracy (*bafásoni*), or even Batutai commoners, but seldom among the Bahutu. The division reached very far and the last elements of it were not only single hills, but even parts of a hill. And although the ensuing intrication and divided hierarchy remind us forcibly of our own feudo-vassalic middle ages, and appear consequently most unstable, the Barundi system, if we set aside some violent revolutions, possessed some sort of stability and could carry on thanks to its practically hereditary organization. Chiefs, subchiefs and all who had availed themselves of the deep-seated division of authority were naturally possessed of rights over the common people and were entitled to demand from them various privileges, usually defined by local custom, and which ranged from a present of beer to well-determined contributions or vaguer corvées (services).

423 661 Some scholars have maintained that the *mwami* definitely had a right of possession over the land of the whole of his sultanate. But the truth is that land was not an object of property for the *mwami* or for commoners and the *mwami* and his representatives simply had to allow its utilization and choose the people to carry it out. Such designations were, just as the political leaderships, more or less unstable, more or less precarious; there exists a heredity in fact; but it is possible for a chief, should he care to do so, to eject the tenants. Besides, the abandoned or untilled lands are at his disposal. The system in general enables members of the leading classes as well as members of the subject classes to constitute estates with the only difference that the former will possess large herds of cattle and have their lands tilled by people liable to unpaid service while the latter have only very few cows and must depend on their own labour and that of their families.

The political leader's say in agricultural matters also solves the difficult problem of proportioning field and pasture-lands. The chief will not allow the latter to be reduced, and the threat to the cattle-breeder is further avoided by the chief's right to use the sorghum fields for pastures after the harvest (*ibishaka-shaka*) either for themselves or for others.

423 The territory of an important chief, with its intermixing complex of herds, estates, revennes, and services, very often extended over large, sometimes

173 Under Ndahiro-Chyamatara, twenty-fifth in the royal lineage, the Batutsi star suffered a pronounced eclipse. The reign of this prince ended in disaster. His death is the subject of a long narrative which is recounted in the "History of Ruganzu's Reign" /Book III, not translated/. According to that episode, he sought death of his own accord in the Bugoyi forest. According to another version which seems more likely, he died at Russokovu in the Bugamba where he is said to have fallen, weapons in hand, in the course of an ill-starred expedition against the inhabitants of the area whom he apparently wished to subjugate. The region was known thereafter as the "hammer-cursed land" (i Rubi rw'inyundo), meaning that the weapons wrought with hammers produced unfortunate results in that area since they caused the death of the king and the elite of his men. It is believed that [796] [769] the annual June mourning observed at the capital (igichurassi) is held in memory and commemoration of this tragic occurrence.

This defeat had baneful consequences for the /86/ Hamitic kingdom, which until then had made continual headway in the interior of the land. Legend and tradition have drawn the picture on the dark side by stressing the tragic events.

A certain Nsibura, chief of the Banyabyinshi, who lived to the southwest of Ruanda, overran the land as a conqueror, subjugating everyone, on his path. The kingdom's misfortunes had no end, say the bards, until the day when the son and successor of the hapless prince, Ruganzu II Ndori, claimed his ancestral throne by force of arms.

Following the disaster which took the life of his father, the young prince had fled to the court of the King of Karagwe, where he was raised by his paternal aunt, the Queen. Upon his return to Ruanda, circumstances were kind to him.

His chief opponent, Nsibura, had just died in the Bugessera forest of an accident dramatized by legend. His energetic and determined character helped him a great deal in his undertakings. Ruganzu greatly expanded the boundaries of the kingdom left to him by his ancestors. No one did more than he for the unity of the monarchy.

The last autochthonous petty kings who had weathered the Hamitic invasion were subjugated by him. The Bugara beyond the

reason gather myriapods (centipedes) which he must dry in the sun and then string up and wear as a badge when he goes begging for sorghum or banana bunches in the course of ritual processions.

The disciples of Ryangombe also honor the memory of the master's mother, whose role was rather insignificant to judge by the legend.

Ntamutimuchumyi is mentioned only to state that he was the cause of Ryangombe's first misfortunes, for he was about to dishonor him by depriving him of his property and his rights. He was eventually killed for the sake of the general /368/ welfare and honor by Binego, who arrived at the most critical moment. The name of Ntamutimuchunyi /sic/ is synonymous with felony and treachery.

As for Nkonjo, the slave, she personifies cowardice and coarseness. She is mentioned only with scorn (1).

1. Cf. Book V, "The Legend of Ryangombe," /not translated/.

To designate the master's hunting dogs, initiates avail themselves of appellations and epithets replete with allusions. Some of them recall the abilities of these animals, others the qualities and defects of human beings. The names of the following animals are readily mentioned:

1. "The (serious) man who never laughs at his fellowman" (Ntamugab' usek' undi).

2. "He who preserves (as a careful owner) a store of smoked meat" (Nyamubikan' umuranz' uruguma).

3. "He who pays the bride price for a girl whose family did not raise her properly" (Bakoska batahana).

4. "The pot-herb which is so odorous, although it is not yet ripe, that it causes people to eat up (at one blow) all the butter in the house" (Urunyegeri rutoto).

5. "Her mother knows her well (including all her faults), so she will make no effort to argue with her because she knows that her daughter is incorrigible" (Nyina aramuzi, ntazamumpora).

766 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possi-
821 ble, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The
[152] close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman
588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief
766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered
821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage" (guchura) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

766 Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into
821 the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-
824 blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza,
[824] umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and
783 avert any future consequences.

2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals
821 have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals,
231 cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them
791 before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening
796 and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

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Then the owners are allowed to carve up the animals on the spot and to distribute the pieces. Words referring to buying and selling must be avoided, however, so as not to offend the lightning whose [422] property rights would thus be violated. The buyers are tacitly bound to compensate the owner. When the time comes for payment, they hand him the price of the meat, rated at its actual value, but without saying anything about it. The seller, if he wishes to induce a recalcitrant buyer to make payment, cannot bring up the subject in explicit terms.

At most he may go to the man's home bearing a native umbrella (issinde) which, owing to its function in times of rain and storms, is supposed to remind the delinquent debtor of the tacit agreement made after one of those storms. It is quite permissible for the debtor to play deaf and blind and refuse to understand. His creditor has no direct hold over him. In order to avoid the evils of lightning with which the seller threatens him in vain with the presence of his umbrella, our recalcitrant buyer need only toss far away the bones of [539] the piece of meat he had chosen and cry, "It was the king of the sky who gave it to me" (n'umwami yangabuliye). These words, pronounced in a loud and intelligible voice, are well understood by the creditor, who can do nothing else.... They clearly convey his dismissal and a definitive refusal.

In certain provinces the owner of a cow struck down by lightning and the people in his house must observe an eight-day mourning [833] period (okwirabura). Cohabitation between spouses is forbidden during that period, just as at the death of a member of the family. The bull, billy goat, and ram are separated from the herds. Cow milk is set aside, and no one may drink of it. When the eight days are over, the animal's master builds a special small /439/ hut on the spot where the animal was killed.

The other cows are milked there, or else the cream gathered [302] on previous days is used and immediately churned. Once the butter is ready, the participants rub it over their bodies while the women and children sing and shout their joy (bakavuz'impundu).

Beer is offered to the guests, and the day ends in the hope that the king of the sky (lightning) will not return to seek new victims.

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821 The purifier-sorcerer need not be present at this last ceremony. Their role and presence were essential only on the day of purification. They always come away with handsome rewards, leaving on the spot protective herbs or lucky amulets (impigi za Biheko).

753 3. In some localities individuals also resort to these doctors in mystical sciences upon the death of a leper or the burning of a hut.

783 a. The natives have an acute aversion to contagious diseases and especially to leprosy. Once the unfortunate victim of one of those terrible diseases is dead, the purifier-sorcerer is called in to carry out various ceremonies. He tosses lustral water upon the hut of the deceased, and finally sets fire to it. The onlookers run far away in order to avoid the smoke, as though it could transmit the disease of the deceased owner.

In the central province of Nduga, the sorcerer has a small hut built in which he places the son of the deceased. With one hand he sets fire to the hut, while with the other he rapidly snatches the child out of it.

The leprosy is supposed to have vanished forever, and henceforth no other member of the family will become its victim. The sorcerer vouches for this. /440/

b. In order to avoid the evils which might befall the owner of a hut that has burned or even his neighbors, the same sorcerer is resorted to. He makes his clients drink the liquid mentioned previously.

The site of the hut is sprinkled with lustral water, and the bystanders are also sprinkled with it.

Three reeds stuck into the ground and covered with banana leaves make an improvised hut in which the owner and his wife must stay for an instant (baryamana). The evil spell has been lifted. Henceforth, nothing is to be feared (bamaz' umuriro or bamaze ishyano, that is to say, "they have warded off all misfortune"). The diseases which might have afflicted those present at the accident and their unborn children have been averted forever.

791 In the Bugoyi, to the northeast of Lake Kivu, the role of protector against fire and its deadly consequences is the prerogative of a special category of sorcerers known by the title of Abahozi or

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home, on the advice of his familiars, in a hut that stood nearby. The sorcerers assured him that he had nothing more to fear on the part of the spirits, who had been given full satisfaction by means of this trick.

643 Upon the accession of each new king to the throne, a special envoy went to the Ruzizi Valley and drew water from a spring called Zina. He took some of that water and brought it for the young monarch to drink.

The reasons for this custom, which has now fallen into disuse, have been forgotten.

Chapter 6

I. The Two Great Festivals at Court

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796 The two most important celebrations (ibirori) take place at the official presentation of the "First Fruits," and on the day following the annual mourning period, which the king and his court must observe.

This latter feast, which closes the month of June, is celebrated with the same pomp and richness. Since it will be described in the chapter dealing with honors rendered to the spirits of the royal dead, we shall discuss here only the festival called "First-Fruits" festival.

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[824] In their enthusiasm and admiration for Ruganzu II, the Victorious, the Banyarwanda go so far as to credit him with almost every food plant or grain they possess. Special mention is made of sorghum, eleusine, and a kind of wild plant /499/ known by the name of issogi (1), owing to their importance in the local economy.

173 with beans. Ruganzu was pleased with the discovery and congratulated the cook. He was shown a few of the plants, and he had some of their seeds gathered.

Others add that the woman in question presented him on the same occasion with the first sorghum bread he had ever seen, hence the thought of introducing the cultivation of that grain plant into his kingdom.

796 Whatever the authenticity of these details may be, the truth is that the "first fruits" festival (umuganura, kuganuz' umwami) is celebrated every year at the capital to commemorate the introduction of sorghum, eleusine, and the spinach-like plant into Ruanda. It was usually celebrated in February or March for eleusine, and in May for sorghum; to each occasion the famous plant was added. Over the last few years, eleusine, sorghum, and spinach have been brought at one time to the capital for a single ceremony. In the Bumbogo a special family is in charge of cultivating the field where the grain destined for the court is harvested.

This function is transmitted from father to son. At sowing time the appointed keeper of the field goes and asks the king for the hoe that will be used to break the ground.

When this envoy appeared at court, the king was supposed to have him struck three times, according to custom.

The reason for this curious practice is unknown.

The man left with his hoe during the night. Once the harvest /501/ was concluded, the same people /sic/ returned to the capital to fetch the special basket (igitenda ch' imikondo) in which the sorghum or eleusine was carried. The basket was placed on a litter [661] (ingobyi). Those who walked in the procession enjoyed the privilege of robbing and looting the people they found along the way.

796 The story tells that they did not hesitate to make use of this 661 privilege in the old days, but that for some time things had improved, and with good reason. The chiefs whose territory they crossed at night were compelled to treat them well because they were the king's men. Needless to add, they were always ready to indulge in revelry when the opportunity arose. Once arrived at the capital they were allowed by custom, it seems, to handle the Batutsi roughly and to

796 throw cow bones into their face. This is no longer the case, and
661 times have changed for the better. An evolution of ideas has taken place under European influence. Since these men are no longer inviolate, their behavior has necessarily become less brutal.

They were immediately received by the king, who asked them
796 into his hut to the exclusion of his usual entourage. The great chief of the Bumbogo (umutware w' intebe), of the Batsobe clan, alone came in with the king. It was he who officially presented the first fruits to the sovereign. Precautions were taken so that no one might come near the grain destined for the king. Carefully selected slaves or servant girls threshed the stalks at night far from all unhallowed glances. Then they had the task of crushing the grain before the eyes of the monarch. They worked with the most meticulous cleanliness, that is to say, without spitting into their hands or touching the flour with their unhallowed fingers.

Princes and dignitaries live in perpetual fear of poisoning and spells, hence the numerous measures /502/ and strict watchfulness observed in these circumstances. When enough flour had been obtained to make bread (umutsima), another slave girl took it and immediately prepared it.

The dough was ceremoniously taken to the king, who removed a piece from it with his fingers. He brought it first to his forehead, then to his chest, and then took it to his mouth. The chief who was present did the same. This ceremony was carried out in silence. The men who had brought the first fruits also offered the monarch some stalks of issogi, which is, as we have seen, one of the most important plants (imbuto nkuru).

[262] It must be remembered that the Banyarwanda cannot eat sorghum bread or eleusine bread alone because it is too dry.

They usually eat it, therefore, with a mouthful of beans cooked along with this sort of spinach. The latter lends the beans a flavor which is highly esteemed by the natives. This is what gave the plant a choice place among other foods.

796 It was customary for the men who had taken part in the pro-
264 cession to be rewarded. A bucket (umuvule) was filled with milk, and another with beans that were only half cooked.

796 264 These were topped with rancid butter as though it were a special treat.

The intended goal was to stuff the bearers of the first fruits.

The poorly cooked food was digested slowly, and meanwhile the eaters proved to the spectators, with their rounded stomachs, that they had been treated royally (ngo n' ishimo).

It is said that in the old days the guests were not allowed to leave the royal enclosure without having finished their Pantagruelic repast. They ate before the amused eyes of a delirious crowd which plied them with jeers and gibes. Nor were they allowed /503/ to leave the premises in order to relieve nature. "As a result," add the narrators, "the court looked more like a stable."

Yet the guests could consider themselves fortunate if their appetite was not stimulated with blows. It seems that at the present time these customs have lost some of their grotesque and brutal character.

Not only did the court familiars and neighboring inhabitants take part in those festivities, but so did the great chiefs and their retinues. Sacrifices followed upon dances and shows given by clowns and snake charmers.

There was also the presentation of the sacred cows (inyambo), which was to many people the most important part of the festivities. To those who know the Batutsi as professional herders, there is nothing surprising about this part of the program.

II. The Existence and Presentation of Sacred Herds

233 In speaking of sacred cows, our study would remain incomplete if we were not to say a few words about the attachment which the Banyarwanda, Bahutu, and Hamites demonstrate for their cattle.

Cows are cherished by everyone, without exception. Meticulous and often ridiculous care is lavished upon them. The Blacks of Ruanda stop at nothing to obtain cattle. A Muhutu /Bahutu/ will fawn upon his chief for many years, if necessary, in order to obtain one. He will bear the inclemencies of the seasons, undertake long journeys, perform endless drudgery, and sacrifice his crops to

764 resting place for several important members of this clan.

Other Banyiginya were buried in Urundi and in the Bugessera province, which borders on that country. The dead sons of Musinga, who number at least five or six, rest there in their last sleep.

The deceased are usually buried in a hut. In the Budaha, the owner of a hut that served as a Mwega's tomb cannot leave the dwelling until about a year later. He is forced to remain there to prevent sorcerers from digging up the body.

769 there are several, is dedicated to a spirit in whose honor they marry a woman whom they later keep or discard, depending on their whims and fancies.

Well-off Bahutu attempt to imitate the great, but their huts [343] are usually few in number. So as not to be inferior to those they emulate in their superstitions, they build around their dwelling several tiny huts (indaro) which often consist merely of two or three sticks planted in the ground and barely bound at the top by a small band. /539/

4. The Annual Mourning Period of Fifteen Days in the Month of June, Which Ends With an Important Celebration

765 769 The famous annual mourning period of 15 days takes place during the last fortnight of the lunar month called by the native name of Gichurassi, which corresponds approximately to our month of June. 774 In principle the king alone is supposed to go into mourning, but the whole court joins him for the sake of solidarity. At that time, the

765 prince must cast aside his ornaments and retain only ordinary clothes.
769 No marriage ceremony may take place. Games and dances are
796 prohibited. Among the drums, only the Ndamutsa is heard around nine o'clock in the morning.

When the mourning period is nearly over, the chiefs have beer brought in from various parts of Ruanda in preparation for the closing celebration (gukur' igichurassi, "to chase away the month of mourning"). On the eve of the day appointed for the festivities, the small drum (ishako) is heard at four different times during the night to herald the great solemn occasion. At dawn other instruments join in. Joyous shouts rise on all sides and the crowd rushes to the huge esplanade where the festival is to take place.

Continuous dancing follows, with pages and other specialists participating. The members of the Ryangombe secret society, their faces smeared with white, observe their usual ceremonies. Sacrifices are offered.

The sacred cows appear on the square and contribute in no small way to the original character of the festivities. Needless to say, beer flows freely.

As for finding out in whose honor the mourning is held, this is no easy matter. The chroniclers do not agree on this score. /540/

Some say that it is held in honor of all kings; others add that it is held in honor of a queen whose name has been forgotten. The majority state that it is observed in memory of Ndahiro.

The latter's death is said to have occurred precisely during the month of Gichurassi and in the circumstances we have already mentioned. We leave it to better informed people to cut those Gordian knots.

of praise nor boasts about his deeds and the number of enemies he has slain. During kichurasi they content themselves with simple clapping (kukoma mukono). People do not wear their better clothing or ornaments. Even the bulls are removed from the herds. All life that has its beginning during this period is regarded as unclean and is killed.

The period of mourning ends with the kichurasi full moon. They begin to beat the drums, very softly and very little on the first day, somewhat more on the second, until on the third day the regular beating is resumed. On the eleventh day the chiefs bring the king presents, get drunk on beer, and sacrifice sterile cows.

The end of the month of kichurasi is celebrated with a great feast for which the ntore gather at court. The feast is called kukura kichurasi. [297] I could not determine whether this feast has any connection with the myth about the redeemer (mutabazi).

This is the time of the great ceremonies of the babandwa and of sacrifices (kuterekera).

The lunar month is divided up according to the phases of the moon. Thus they speak of: imboneko, "emerging moon"; kwezi, "waxing moon"; inzoro, "full moon"; mizima, "waning moon"; imfunda, "disappearing moon." These designations, however, do not correspond to the weeks. The weeks have five to six days and are determined by the relationship of free days to compulsory work days.

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Chapter 15

Religion and Related Matters

Ancestor Worship. The religious views of the Banyaruanda do not fit into a compact, harmonious system. This is probably due not only to the low level of development of their religion, but also to the dissimilarity of the Batutsi and Bahutu cultures which have influenced each other.

Ancestor worship is the basis of religious beliefs in Ruanda as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine region.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The symbol of kingship was Kalinga, the sacred drum. To possess this drum meant to be king. Kalinga was regularly sprinkled with the blood of the animals used for divination. Around Kalinga were hung the genitals of Ruanda enemies killed by the bami. Kalinga was never beaten but other drums were beaten in its honour as they were beaten for the king.[88]

(*b*) *The queen-mother*

It was essential that the role of queen-mother (*umugabekazi*) should always be fulfilled. If the mwami's mother's death occurred when her son was still living, he had to be given another 'mother'. The queen-mother had no special task, but she shared the royal prerogatives. She lived at the king's capital where she had her own court, and her protection was eagerly sought. She had herds of cattle and clients. But her role should not be regarded as independent of that of the king.

It can be said that the same kingship was realized by two persons at the same time, without any division of responsibilities or privileges. This was expressed by the term often used to designate together the mwami and his mother: the kings (*abami*). In that partnership the king, however, kept a predominant position: when he died, his mother completely lost her powers.

(*c*) *The biru*

The *biru* did not constitute a council or a board. They were dignitaries with different tasks and very strictly ranked in a fixed hierarchy. Their activities, however, in common were concerned with the preservation of ritual knowledge and the accomplishment of ceremonies essential to the existence of Ruanda and its government. This knowledge and activities were kept secret from everybody who was not a *muiru* (singular of *biru*).

Biru were under the king's authority in the sense that he could create new offices of *muiru* and he could dismiss one of them who had been disloyal. The royal control was limited to this. It was really the minimum without which *biru* would have been completely independent of the mwami. The offices were hereditary and even when a *muiru* had been dismissed one of his sons succeeded him. As we have seen previously, their domains were exempt from any interference of the land- or cattle-chief.

[88] Vanhove, 1941, pp. 88 f. See the series of photographs in Maquet, 1957.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The most important *biru* were the three to whom the king communicated the name of his successor and the recommendations he wanted them to transmit to the new king later. There were about a dozen main *biru* offices. These important *biru* had assistants from their lineages, prospective successors whom they gradually trained in order that the oral traditions should not be lost.

Biru had to memorize secret rules, governing for instance the order according to which queens would be chosen from different descent groups, the ritual to observe in case of spreading of cattle disease, lack of abundance of rain, warlike ceremonies, celebrations of the sorghum harvests, &c.

The *biru* institution safeguarded the interests of the great Tutsi descent groups. This function appears clearly in the determination made for several reigns in advance of the secondary lineages and clans from which the queens should be successively chosen. The *biru*, as representatives of their kinship groups had, as it were, established the order in which the interests of different clans and lineages would be favoured in turn.

No one *mwiru* knew the entire body of customs. That knowledge was divided into parts, the remembering of each being entrusted to a *mwiru*, that is to say a descent group, as the office was hereditary. In this way it may be said that the exclusive knowledge of a part of the most important Ruanda ritual had become almost the property of each great Tutsi descent group.

A second function of the *biru* institution was to secure the continuity and the prevalence of the tradition which could have been endangered by the very considerable powers of the king. That traditional body was not unlike a constitution in a modern state and the *biru* institution could be said to have had a role similar to that of a supreme court judging whether a new rule is compatible with the fundamental charter of the country. Of course they had explicitly neither such a task nor such institutionalized means to prevent the mwami from establishing new rules, but the disapproval of an innovation by the *biru* was not to be taken lightly as they represented the great Tutsi kinship groups.

To assess more exactly the function of this institution, one should know more about it. The present day *biru* are still very reluctant to provide information and still less to let it be published, in spite of the encouragement to do so that they receive from the king.[96]

[96] See Kagame, 1947a.